few miles west of Zamboanguita poblacion. By 1948 the first class road reached Siaton poblacion. In 1951 only a second class road connected Siaton and Tolong. 491

Informants living in Siaton said that the busses from Dumaguete terminated at Zamboanguita until 1928; they did not continue to Siaton because of poor roads. A resident of Siaton poblacion reported: 494

> Before 1928 there were a few autos which came to Siaton but only for the use of the wealthy. Maybe they came as early as 1924. But regular busses did not start until 1928 and then the schedules were not as regular as today. Of course, there was practically no travel for autos or trucks during the rainy season.

The chief clerk of the provincial engineer's office, who has held this position for nearly three decades, said on April, 1930, the first busses from Dumaguete reached Barrio San Francisco (then known as Manalongan), now in Sta. Catalina municipality. It seems, therefore, that the first effective bus facilities between Siaton and the provincial capital were established around 1930. Dumaguete has been accessible to the barriofolk by bus for about twenty years. Improved transportation facilities changed the distribution of population in Siaton municipality.

The Traffic Flow map of Negros Oriental illustrates the annual average daily flow of commercial, 484 489

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animal-drawn and private vehicles for 1952.[54] (See Plate XII.)[1] This map shows the relative position of Siaton in the general traffic flow pattern of Negros Oriental. The heaviest traffic flow is between Bais and the provincial capital due mainly to the trucking of copra to Dumaguete's port, the better roads and population concentration. As one travels north of Bais and south of Dumaguete the traffic flow decreases. In the vicinity of La Libertad the "pull" of San Carlos becomes greater than Dumaguete and the traffic flow increases considerably in this northern direction. Zamboanguita is the half-way mark in the southern traffic flow; the traffic between Zamboanguita and Dauin is nearly twice that between Zamboanguita and Siaton.[55]

The Traffic Flow map reflects a number of factors. The closer to Dumaguete the cheaper the bus fare, the shorter the trip, the greater the number of busses running, and the more frequently the rural residents go to the city. Much of the traffic between Bacong and

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[54]The gap on the Traffic Flow map between Bacong-Dumaguete and Sibulan-Dumaguete is because there are two sets of maps--one for Dumaguete city and another for Negros Oriental province. In 1952 the 24-hour traffic between Bacong (the southern city boundary) and Dumaguete was 340, of which 48 per cent was commercial and 45 per cent animal-drawn.

[55]The 1936 district engineer's road map of Negros Oriental showed a proposed road to Bonbonon in this year with a third class road existing in 1948. The road connecting Bonbonon with the National Road in 1951, however, was quite comparable with the latter highway.

1 [See p. 78, cat. 484 + 489 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

Plate XII

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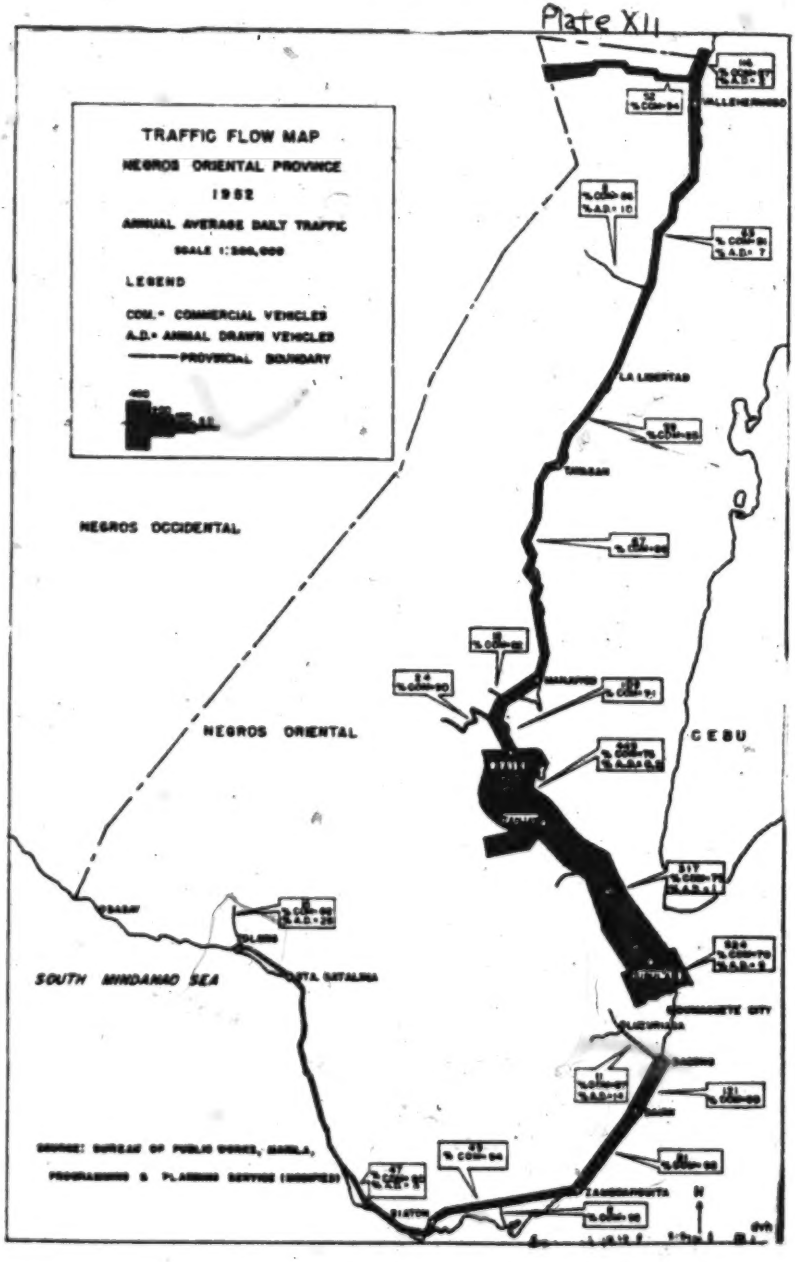

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Dumaguete or Dumaguete and Sibulan is animal-drawn carts that take firewood to be sold in the capital. For example, in 1952 the 24-hour traffic between Dumaguete and the northern boundary of the city (to Sibulan municipality) consisted of 2,635 vehicles of which 16 per cent were commercial and 70 per cent animal-drawn. The thick traffic flow line between Bais and Dumaguete reflects the constant trucking of copra to the port for shipment. The Traffic Flow map clearly records the economic "pull" of Dumaguete: literally, all roads lead to the provincial capital.[56]

The National Road from Dumaguete to Siaton poblacion (named on the official maps as the Dumaguete South Road) is classified as a first class road, although

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[56]Private vehicles (automobiles) make up the difference between the sum of commercial and animal-drawn vehicles and 100 per cent. It was not until 1948, through the cooperation of the U. S. Bureau of Public Roads, that a traffic counting program was started in the Philippines. "The control and coverage stations have been selected and established at the different strategic sections of the country's highway network. These are operated by actual manual count on a continuing cyclical basis--the control stations four times or cycles a year and the coverage stations two cycles a year, coinciding with the schedules of the control stations during the first and third cycles. The control stations are operated 17 days of a 8-hour duration per cycle and arranged in such a way that when completed we have representatives of one-24-hour Sunday traffic, one 24-hour Saturday traffic, one weekday 24-hour traffic (Wednesday), and 16-hour traffic (from 8 a.m. to 12 midnight) for the remaining four weekdays." The margin of error is estimated at 10 per cent. A personal communication to the writer from Rodolfo Maslog, Programming and Planning Engineer, Bureau of Public Works, Manila, June 13, 1952.

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Filipino had written, "... a good customer is offered free rides...by the Chinese."[57] This is also true in Siaton. Often a Chinese merchant is forced to overload his truck with people wanting free rides; otherwise, as one Chinese merchant of Siaton told me, he might find his tires slashed the next day by a disgruntled would-be-rider. No Siaton resident owned an automobile in 1951, although before the last war several of the more affluent merchants had private cars. [563]

The Philippine bus, called "trucks" by the people in Siaton, does a herculean job in the Republic.

> With the few private automobiles, for the use of only a very small share of the population, the bus has become far more important than in many countries. Generally speaking, Philippine bus-transport economy compares with that of almost any place in the world. Likewise it compares in services to its customers. Except for a few of the long-run 'limited' schedules, a bus will stop anywhere to pick up or discharge passengers. Most lines will carry any small cargo on the ticket, often include freight in small consignments on their regular runs, and operate fairly fast schedules. Most busses are regular truck-rolling stock, with Philippine-built bodies adapted to people of smaller girth and stature than most Americans.[58]

Though normally the busses are overcrowded, dusty, and maintained with makeshift repairs, without them the mobility of the average Filipino would be greatly reduced. The overwhelming dependence of the average Filipino in southern Negros in 1952 on the public transport system is shown in 484 489

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[57] "The Chinese Question." A series of letters from various readers in the Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 29 (July 26, 1952), p.3. Underlining by writer.

[58] Spencer, op. cit., p.80.

Table VI by the percentages of commercial (which also includes "cargo" trucks), private automobiles, and animal-drawn carts. The larger percentage of animal-drawn vehicles between Bacong and Dumaguete are the carts of the firewood sellers and the tartanillas--the "local taxis."

TABLE VI

Percentages of Annual Average Daily Traffic Flow

Negros Oriental, 1952

Between	Vehicles		
	Commercial	Private	Animal-Drawn
Tolong - Siaton	90	6	4
Siaton - Zamboanguita	94	6	0
Zamboanguita - Dauin	88	12	0
Dauin - Bacong	89	11	0
Bacong - Dumaguete	48	7	45

The traffic flow statistics of the Siaton toll bridge shown in Table VII include both east and west traffic. These figures do not include vehicles coming from Dumaguete that terminate at Siaton poblacion. The termination points for most of the commercial traffic west of Siaton are either Sta. Catalina or Tolong; the latter is the busiest commercial center in southern Negros. Though vehicular travel does not decrease during the southwest monsoon as much as one might expect on a second class road, the rains do depress the traffic flow.[59] During the peak of the rainy season

[59] In 1951 there were about 50 unbridged creeks or fairly good-sized rivers crossed by the road between Siaton and Tolong. During the rainy season the bus driver stops at an unbridged river, wraps the engine and then the outside hood with gunny sacks, and tries to cross the river before the engine floods. Sometimes the bus stalls in the middle of the river and the passengers must push it across. I have ridden in busses which forded rivers so deep that the water ran across the floorboards.

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automobile and truck travel drops considerably but the decrease in bus service is small. A typhoon greatly reduces traffic flow for a short period, e.g., the typhoon "Amy" which occurred in December, 1951. The period of heaviest traffic is between December and May with certain exceptions. These are the "fiesta months" and the period when the fish corrals are operating. Extra busses go to the fiesta communities and the more affluent come from Dumaguete in automobiles or jeeps. More jeeps and trucks ~~are~~ also run to transport the fish caught in the corrals to Dumaguete. These statistics vividly illustrate the predominance of commercial over private transport and how this National Road is a vital artery of transportation and communication for the barriofolk of southern Negros.

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TABLE VII

Traffic Flow Figures from the Siaton Toll Bridge

1951

Month	Automobiles	Busses	Trucks	Jeeps	Other vehicles (A)	Rainfall (inches)	Fiestas
Jan.	17	303	101	28	18	0.04	3
Feb.	44	370	125	47	31	0.5	3(B)
Mar.	39	316	123	27	15	0.3	6(C)
Apr.	48	362	146	42	15	0.8	3(D)
May	18	351	125	27	1	2.2	3
June	14	317	86	20	9	11.7	0
July	15	311	105	24	0	13.9	0
Aug.	8	321	130	23	2	15.5	2
Sep.	10	310	101	14	0	14.5	0
Oct.	6	303	139	23	0	11.7	1
Nov.	30	321	130	24	0	6.3	1
Dec.	20	240(E)	105	30	21	12.7(E)	4(F)
Monthly Average (Rounded)	22	319	118	27	9		2

A. "Other vehicles" include trailers, graders, pick-ups, wagons, and a bull-dozer.
Road repairs were being made at this time.
B. The fiestas included in this column are those which occurred west of the Siaton River with the exception of Siaton poblacion.
C. Barrio Giliga-on fiesta.
D. Barrio Bonawon fiesta.
E. The typhoon "Amy" occurred on December 9-10.
F. Sta. Catalina and Siaton poblacion fiestas.

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There are two commercial airports in Negros, one in Dumaguete and the other in Bacolod with flights to other islands. It is not possible, however, to fly directly between the two capitals of Negros; one must first go to Cebu City. The Philippines Air Lines (PAL), 000

when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease. For the most part, the Chinese control the buying and selling of copra. Their trucks come from Dumaguete to pick up copra from stores where Filipinos sell their small crops.

The Northern Corn-Coconut region begins in the south with Manjuyod municipality and continues to the north to Canlaon and Vallehermoso municipalities. A northern extension of this region includes Negros Occidental's eastern littoral. Both the southern and northern municipalities of this region are transitional to sugar cane agriculture. This northern region is larger than the Southern Corn-Coconut area; the former has about 743 square miles of which 239 square miles (32 per cent) are actively cultivated.

Many geographic factors typical of the southern region also characterize the Northern Corn-Coconut region. There is less level land in the northern region; the small riverine floodplains and narrow littoral account for most of it. While annual precipitation is greater than in the southern region, the northern area also is subject to droughts. Transportation facilities are not as adequate as in the south, and the northern region lacks an adequate port. The only sizeable port is at Guihulngan where shallow-draft inter-island ships stop. The rest of the coast is lined with shallow inshore waters or offshore coral reefs.

Population densities are greater in the northern region with an average density of 289 persons per

these differences the barriofolk of Caticugan, and Negros Oriental, are mainly Cebuanos with dialect and customs different from those of Panayanos of Negros Occidental. 101

Recent improvements in transportation have brought most of the barriofolk of Caticugan closer to Dumaguete, the provincial capitol where American cultural patterns are most heavily concentrated. Yet they live on the periphery of the major traffic flow of this province. With their undeveloped technology and crude implements, the Caticugan barriofolk have adjusted their economy to the seasonal rhythms of the southwest and northeast monsoons, the former beginning their agricultural cycle. This chapter has described the general scenery of the "stage" where the barriofolk of Caticugan act out their lives. 484 489 177 221 000

An American visitor in Dumaguete would find much in the city to remind him of the United States. New Fords, modern buildings, the mode of dress, Hollywood cinemas and Silliman University with its American professors and English-speaking students would be visible signs of American influence. As he left Dumaguete for the rural areas of Negros, he would quickly enter a new milieu and the farther south he travelled the fewer clues he would find to suggest familiar scenes of his country. 369 177

Today one can catch an early morning bus from Dumaguete to Siaton poblacion. The faded green bus 494 484

passengers get off and empty wooden boxes are left by the roadside for the fishermen of Malabuhan. On the return trip the boxes will be filled with fresh fish for sale in Dumaguete. About a quarter of a mile south is Sitio Malabuhan, a fishing village with houses lining a sandy shore and many beached boats covered with coconut fronds.

The bus continues, past Inalad school and is ferried over the placid Canaway River, to arrive at Siaton poblacion. (See Plate XVII.)[1] The business center of Siaton poblacion is strung for several blocks along the National Road here named George Washington Road. There are general stores, a corn mill, and a marketplace. A card game may be in progress in a small store while the guhang "bar" already has patrons, lounging on bamboo benches. A bus from Tolong poblacion may be waiting for its passengers to finish their breakfast at the several cafes in the marketplace while the driver helps a woman to load a squealing pig for Dumaguete market. Other thin pigs root at the roadside or around the marketplace while lazy dogs sleep on the warm asphalt road, moving only when the bus is nearly upon them.

On the plaza's north side is the termite-ridden municipio with offices for the mayor and other officials and a tiny jail with bamboo bars. The church was rebuilt in 1952 but the old stone walls of the former church are seen vine-covered and shaded by giant acacia trees

[1] this plate (p.128) is missing -- ANALYST]

Sale of Fish Caught in the Bonsods

Most fish caught in the bonsods are sold in Dumaguete because of the higher prices paid in the city. Fish are taken to Dumaguete by the busses that run between Tolong-Dumaguete and Siaton-Dumaguete. The bonsod owner pays fifty cents for each box (about the size of an orange crate) of fish hauled to Dumaguete; a tax of one cent a pound is paid on fish sold in the marketplace. Large fish like tuna are tagged on the tail and sent individually to the city market. When the tagged boxes of fish arrive in Dumaguete marketplace they are taken by the owner's agent (in one case a woman) who receives 10 per cent of the profits.

If a large bonsod catch is made and no busses are available until the next day, Siaton operators may hire a small truck owned by a local resident. Since ice is not available, the fish must be sold quickly or they spoil. The lament of a cafe owner near the Siaton River bridge was that during fishing season busses and trucks rarely stopped at his place because they were usually carrying fish to Dumaguete. The drivers feared a leisurely trip might cause the fish to spoil.[62]

Marine fish never were plentiful in the poblacion marketplace during my residence--and fresh-water fish were

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[62]According to the Bell Report the Philippine fishing industry needs to be provided with "cold storage transportation to expand the market for fish, and...the development of freezer packers." The Bell Report, op. cit., p. 66.

owing to firing difficulties. Most of my material on techniques of pottery was obtained from this cooperative Datag potter.

Most clay cooking pots now used in Caticugan are made in Dumaguete city. In this city there is a district, Daro, that specializes in the manufacture of cooking pots, clay stoves and large waterjars for drinking purpose. Some pots sold in Siaton poblacion are made in Mayabon, Zamboanguita, but are regarded as inferior to Daro's products. Mayabon is situated in a small enclave of Dauin clay that may explain the small pottery industry. (See Plate X, page 64.) A family came to Siaton from Daro in 1951 and started to make clay pots for sale in the poblacion; the business did not succeed and after several months they left.

The decline of pottery in Caticugan and environs is due largely to improvement of transportation facilities in southern Negros. The superior clay wares of Dumaguete became easier to buy in Siaton poblacion. Better transportation facilities increased both the number and frequency of visits to the city. The pots became so cheap that the barriofolk preferred to buy rather than make them. One old woman of Caticugan explained: "I stopped making pots because it is hard work. I would get sick always having my hands in the cold clay, squeezing it. And they are very cheap to buy."

As older women ceased their pottery activities, their daughters were not taught the technique. With a